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THE BOHUN¹ WILLS

MANY a place in France has given its name to an English family of distinction ; it was left to a town² in the northwest of Normandy, in the arrondissement of St. Lo, to give its name to a family which flourished in England for three hundred years, and not merely flourished, but proved its capacity for leadership by steadily stretching to the front when matched with all the baronage of the kingdom, until at last it reached a stage from which it disappeared in royalty itself. Other houses have surpassed it at times ; few have equalled it in long-sustained eminence and power ; few, if any, have had so great a part in the making of England.

Humphrey de Bohun, 'with the beard,'³ a kinsman of the Conqueror,⁴ and with him on the field of Senlac, received, it is true, but scant reward for his services, the single lordship of Taterford in Norfolk.⁵ But he was already getting on in years, and infirmity may have prevented him from performing vigorous service. Wace, the trouvour, calls him

‘de Bohon le viel Onfrei,’

and that is the only stated fact on which a reason for the smallness

¹ Probably pronounced 'Boon.' The 'h' is often omitted in early times, thus 'Boon,' 'Boun,' 'Bown,' and 'Buun.' See also Addison, *Spectator*, No. 60. But the family spelling was 'Bohun.' See, besides the wills, the facsimile seal, *post*, p. 426. The name should not be confounded with 'Bowen' (= 'ap Owen').

² Of two villages and parishes lying near together and distinguished by the names of their parish saints, St. George de Bohon and St. André de Bohon.

³ At the time of the Conquest the Normans generally shaved off the beard. Those who did not were accordingly marked men, so much so that 'with the beard' was fairly part of the name. The Bayeux tapestry shows that the back of the head as well as the face was shaved. Wace tells us that one of Harold's spies reported William's soldiers an army of priests; they could chant masses, for all were shaven and shorn, not even having moustaches left; chap. xiv. *sub fin.* : Taylor, p. 147. But the fashion changed soon after the Conquest, and the Conqueror himself is represented in a drawing in a MS. of William, Abbot of Jumièges, as wearing a short beard and moustache. A copy of the drawing is given in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, I. 68, 3d ed. See also the first cut in Sandford's *Genealogical History*, the seal of the Conqueror.

⁴ 'Dominus Humfredus de Bohun, cum barba, qui prius venit cum Willielmo Conquestore in Angliam de Normannia, cognatus dicti Conquestoris,' etc. *Chron. Lan-thony, Monasticon*, VI. 134.

⁵ *Domesday*, II. 262. Under Rufus, however, he held an extensive barony in Wiltshire. Stapleton's *Norman Exchequer*, II. xxiii.; *Domesday* for Norfolk, Munford, 50.

of the gift can be based.¹ Whatever the reason for this, honors were to fall to his son; Humphrey the Second became Humphrey the Great. He enjoyed the Red King's favor; more than that, the king's 'wish and command' gave him the hand of a lady of great wealth as well as of rank, Maud, the only daughter of Edmund of Salisbury.² That alliance laid the foundation of what came to be perhaps the greatest fortune in the peerage of England.³ It was the first of a series of brilliant alliances, which, after adding fortune to fortune, brought in marriage with the head of the house, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a daughter of the greatest of the Plantagenet kings, and before the century was yet old made one daughter of the Bohuns the wife of a brother of the Black Prince, and another the mother of King Henry the Fifth. Humphrey de Bohun, fourth Earl of Hereford and third Earl of Essex of the name, 'the most distinguished nobleman in the kingdom,'⁴ married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the First;⁵ Eleanor de Bohun, elder of the daughters, and, in default of sons, co-heiress of the last of the Bohun earls and the only one to become possessed of the three earldoms of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton,⁶ became the wife

¹ Many other tenants in chief received no more. Wace expressly states that 'the old Humphrey' was in the fight at Senlac, or Hastings as it is commonly called. It is fair to surmise that the Conqueror's preferences were not capricious—that it was safe and desirable to bestow manors upon some by the hundreds, while to withhold from others, whether because of their power and ability, or of their weakness, was but the part of prudence.

² *Chron. Lanthonius.* The chronicler also says: 'Cum qua Matilda [*i.e.* Maud] pater suus donavit dicto Humfrido in liberum maritagium omnia terras et tenementa sua quae fuerunt ex perquisitione dicti Edwardi, viz. Weston juxta Salesbury, et Walton, Newton, Piryton, Staunton, Trobrege, et unum messuagium in Salesbury juxta portam orientalem, et advocationem ecclesiae S. Crucis.'

³ The Duchess of Cleveland has told the story, in a picturesque way, of several of these alliances. *Roll of Battle Abbey*, I. 72. The main authority is the *Chron. of Lanthonius*, though Dugdale's *Baronage* is almost the only one cited.

⁴ This is a quotation by the Duchess of Cleveland (*Roll of Battle Abbey*, I. 74), apparently from the notes of Nicolas to his edition of the Anglo-French poem, *The Siege of Carlaverock* (1300), p. 119. The actual words of Nicolas are: 'By birth, titles, possessions, and alliance, this nobleman was perhaps the most distinguished of his age.'

⁵ She was the young widow of John, Earl of Holland. Now, at her second marriage, five years after the first, she was but nineteen. The mothers of Bohun and the princess were cousins, and King Edward himself procured a dispensation from the Pope for the marriage. The dispensation recites that the king desired it that the marriage might 'allay and blot from remembrance' the discords and dissensions which had grown out of the resistance to the king, in 1297 (referred to in a later note), of Bohun's father, the late earl. The Pope added the hope that, in this alliance, the evils would be 'pulled up by the roots.' *Fæderia*, I. part iv. 17.

⁶ Humphrey, who died in 1373. His will is in the collection, *post*. He was son and heir of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton. William had been a distinguished commander of long service in the French and Scotch wars of Edward the Third. Cousin

of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward the Third, and himself too near a king for the happiness of Richard the Second, his nephew;¹ Mary de Bohun, the younger sister, was married to Henry Bolingbroke, afterwards King Henry the Fourth, though she did not live to see the day.²

The great military office of Constable of England — Blackstone and other writers think to magnify the post by calling the incumbent Lord High Constable of England — was hereditary with the Earls of Hereford, and never but once³ passed out of their hands; for the appointment of Thomas de Berkeley in the summer of 1297, on the refusal of Bohun as constable (and of Roger Bigot as marshal) to execute the king's mandate in aid of his wars in Flanders and in Gascony, was only a makeshift for the occasion. The king did not, however disposed, deprive Bohun of his office — an office which of course Bohun, and all the rest who held it, held of the Crown;⁴ he merely put Berkeley in his place to serve in an expedition which Bohun refused to join. The patriot Earl of Hereford remained Constable of England all the time,⁵ and a few

to the king and throughout close to him in counsel, he had been created Earl of Northampton in 1337, when the Black Prince was made Duke (the first creation of that title in England) of Cornwall; in 1345 he was made Captain-general and regent (the king's *locum tenens*) for overcoming revolt in Brittany, representing his own king as King of France. For his commission, see *Fædera*, II. part iv. 175. He held many other important commissions and posts of peculiar trust under the king. His son Humphrey succeeded him as Earl of Northampton in 1360, and a year later succeeded also his bachelor uncle — whose will appears *post* — as Earl of Hereford and Essex. Father and uncle were sons of the Humphrey who had married the Princess Elizabeth; two sons of that marriage being earls at the same time.

¹ Thomas of Woodstock had put himself at the head of a regency in 1386, which lasted for three years and made him virtual king for the time. It was at that time, and probably because of the regency, that Chaucer lost his lucrative posts of Comptroller of Wool and Comptroller of Petty Customs. Chaucer's patron, John of Gaunt, brother of Thomas of Woodstock, was now in Spain; he returned in 1389, and the old order being restored, Chaucer received the office of Clerk of the King's Works, with a moderate salary. See Skeat's *Student's Chaucer*, Introduction.

² Eleanor barely lived to see her sister's husband dethrone and take the place of the (instigating) murderer of her own husband. It must have lighted up for a moment the gloom of a bitter widowhood, despite the later attitude of Henry Bolingbroke towards her husband. The reader will note the pathetic euphemism in Eleanor's will, the last of the series, *post*, in the reference to the last 'sickness' of her husband.

The Duchess of Cleveland makes a slip — who is exempt in such matters? — in saying that Mary became queen.

³ See *Rot. Pat.* 5 Edw. II. i. m. 19, cited in Dugdale's *Baronage*, I. 183, where *restitution* of the constableship to the Earl of Hereford is mentioned. It was a mere temporary matter, whatever the occasion.

⁴ *Fædera*, III. part iii. 52. It is noticeable that the king's threats of forfeiture went only 'as far as he had power' to declare forfeiture, in many of the cases in the *Fædera*.

⁵ Both Bohun and Bigot are directly afterwards described by their title, as if nothing

months later was again in active office with the king, leading his forces to victory over Wallace at Falkirk.

The earldom of Hereford, with the baronies of Brecknock and other regions west of the Severn, made the Bohuns also earls of the marches 'in the parts of Wales.' There, as Lords Marchers, they had their own palatine courts, officers, and process; there they could and did say, 'No writ of the king runs here.'¹ In fact they performed the functions pertaining to the title, not in use in England until 1385, of marquis,² for the marquisate was but an earldom of the march, in origin and etymology.

But the Bohuns have other title to fame than wealth, and splendid alliances, and posts of honor not for other men. In nearly every great event of their day in the political and constitutional history of England the family bore a conspicuous and worthy part. Henry de Bohun, first Earl of Hereford (properly) of the Bohun name, to begin no earlier, was one of the seven earls elected guardians of *Magna Charta* (1215); he was then but forty years of age.³ Humphrey de Bohun, his son, the second earl, acted a spirited part in the unsuccessful attempt to compel King Henry, on coming of age in 1227, to renew *Magna Charta* and the Charter of the Forest, and was one of the most active leaders against foreign favorites at court before, and in bringing to pass and administering, the *Provisions of Oxford* (1258);⁴ meantime gaining

had happened; and that not merely by themselves and their adherents, but by the Prince of Wales as regent, in letters patent of October 10, 1297 (*Parl. Writs*, I. 61), and shortly afterwards by the king. 'Remittimus,' the king is made to say in the bill of complaint sent to him and agreed to, 'Humfrido de Bohun, Comiti Herefordiae et Estsexiae, Constabulario Angliae, et Rogero Bigot, Comiti Northfoliae, Marescallo Angliae, rancorem nostrum,' etc. Walsingham, in Camden, 73. See also the king's formal pardon of the earls' disobedience, November 5, 1297, in Blackstone's *Tracts*, 342, note; also a writ addressed to Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk and 'Marshal of England,' September 9, 1297, before the king had crossed to Flanders.

The constablership was, however, twice transferred to a younger member of the family, by reason of bodily infirmity in the Earl of Hereford; once, in 1275, to the coming heir, and again, in 1338, for life, to William, Earl of Northampton, brother of the incumbent. Once or twice the office was, for convenience, deputed temporarily to another member of the family, as in 1282, when the earl was in Wales.

¹ *Rot. Parl.* II. 90 (1335). Here the Earl of Hereford and others complained of infringement of franchise by the king's officers, and made out a presumptive case. Humphrey de Bohun, son-in-law of Edward the First, was also made joint warden of the marches towards Scotland in 1309.

² Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was the first English marquis, created such in the year 1385, twelve years after the death of the last Earl of Hereford.

³ He entered the crusades in 1220, and died June 1 of that year on his way to the Holy Land.

⁴ Matt. Paris, anno 1259 (III. 326, Giles), where Bohun upbraids the Earl of Gloucester for faithlessness to the *Provisions*, may be noticed.

the name of the Good Earl for his sturdy opposition to the misrule of the king.¹ Humphrey de Bohun, the third earl,² grandson of the last named, together with Roger Bigot, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, resisted arbitrary taxation in 1297—on the 7th of July—with unequalled courage and success, against the masterful will of Edward the First, and won the distinction of compelling the royal assent to certain strenuous additions to Magna Charta, which breathed life for all time into the dead letter of the Charter against taxation without consent of the tax-payer.³ The next Humphrey, the fourth earl, son of the third and to become son-in-law of Edward the First, was one of the twenty-one Lords Ordainers of Reform ‘of the king’s house and kingdom,’ under the drastic ordinances of 1310 and 1311; who, after doing his part, with the Earls of Lancaster and Warwick, in putting an end to the career of the king’s mischievous favorite, Gavaston of the biting tongue, fell in battle at Boroughbridge, March 16, 1322, in the determined uprising to rid the kingdom of the intolerable arrogance

¹ He was present also in Westminster Hall in 1253, when the curse was denounced with bell, book, and candle against all violators of the Great Charter. Matt. Paris, anno 1253; Dugdale’s *Baronage*, I. 180. He was heartily with Simon de Montfort throughout the great struggle for better government, until the very last, when he was induced by the coming king, Prince Edward, with many others, to believe that with him their cause would be gained, as indeed it was. In consequence the earl and his eldest son, Humphrey, Junior, were on opposite sides at Lewes (1264) and at Evesham (1265). The earl died in 1275, of old age.

² His father, Humphrey, Junior, just mentioned, was one of the patriots in the same troubles. He was a commander of the foot at Lewes and at Evesham, but was taken prisoner at Evesham and died in custody in Beeston castle a few weeks later, in the lifetime of his father, the Good Earl. He is represented as a spirited leader; but it has been stated that at Evesham he ‘withdrew.’ Dugdale’s *Baronage*, I. 181. Probably Evesham is confused with Lewes, where the Earl of Warren and Hugh Bigot ‘withdrew.’ There is nothing in Hemingburgh, I. 323–325, copied by Knyghton in Twysden, 2453, about any withdrawal by Bohun.

³ After Runnemede, there is no more memorable page in English history than that which tells of the conduct of the two earls in that great affair. In a stormy scene in which the king vainly threatened hanging, Bohun and Bigot both refused to lead their men to the foreign wars. Both flatly refused to exercise their offices in enforcing the king’s mandate for enrolment of horse for the wars, sending a letter to the king, by night, in language cold and haughty, such as no one else would have dared. ‘Chere Sire,’ they begin, and then, after reciting the royal mandate, proceed, ‘Vous prierent vostre Conestable e vostre Mareschal qe cestre chose voussissez commaunduer a autre de vostre hostel.’ *Fœdera*, I. part iii. 185. The king called a council, and, as the result, appointed Berkeley and Gynevile in place of Bohun and Bigot. The refusal of the earls was based upon the king’s arbitrary measures of raising supplies.

The king now set out from London with such following as he could obtain, and after tarrying for some weeks at Winchelsea, sailed in October for Flanders, having left the young Prince of Wales in London as regent. Meantime the Scots had arisen under Wallace and were now harrying the north; the Council in alarm asked the prince to send for Bohun and Bigot, which was done. The earls returned—with 1500 horse and a

of the later Despencers.¹ He was then about forty-six years of age.²

Surely, the great traditions of this princely family were well sustained.

Surely, too, the private no less than the public life of such a family is worth rescuing from oblivion. Indeed, a double interest arises in such a case, a desire to know as much as possible of the individuals themselves on their own account, and a desire to know through them the manner of life in general of men who had the shaping of England before the age of printing and of gunpowder.³ How the Earls of Hereford and their families lived and fared, what

multitude of foot—and made their own terms of peace, which Parliament adopted and the Prince of Wales accepted and sent to the king; demanding certain additions to Magna Charta on the subject of taxation, and remission to themselves and all their adherents of 'rancour and indignation.' The king grudgingly fixed his seal to the document. It runs thus: 'Articuli adjecti ad Magnam Cartam sunt isti: Nullum tallagium vel auxilium per nos vel haeredes nostros de caetero in regno nostro imponetur seu levetur sine voluntate et assensu communis archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum, et aliorum praeflatorum, comitum, baronum, militum, burgensium, et aliorum liberorum hominum.' Specific provisions follow. *Walsingham*, in *Camden*, 73. See also Dugdale's *Baronage*, I. 182, 183. Compare *Magna Charta*, cc. 12, 14 (John).

Bohun's career ended with the victory at Falkirk. He died November 30, 1298, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

¹ The feeling against the king's new favorites 'Hugh and Hugh, father and son,' is shown by the old historian Thomas de la Moor. Hatred and envy, he says, flamed out against them. The nobles were furious; and the Earl of Hereford, who led revolt in the West, laid waste the lands of the elder Hugh and made booty of his goods. *Camden*, 595.

The earl was run through the groin and killed with a lance thrust by a soldier lurking under the bridge upon which Bohun and his men were fighting.

² On his person was found the counterpart-writing of a league between Lancaster and himself on the one side, and Robert Bruce, King of Scots, on the other, for mutual support in the existing troubles, and, these ended, for establishing firm peace between England and Scotland. *Fædera*, II. part ii. 40. The king found this to his purpose in the trial of Lancaster, which soon followed. He could now heap upon the dead as well as the living—since they had failed of success—with double effect the name of traitor, and a subservient Parliament of his followers could readily make good the charge. But the king's triumph was short-lived. Proscription ceased; the living participants in the struggle, and the heirs of the dead, received their patrimony (*Fædera*, II. part ii. 177, 1 Edw. III.—1327); Lancaster became a martyr, and men made offerings at his tomb. See *post*, sixth page of next and concluding instalment.

It is curious that the Earl of Hereford had been taken prisoner by Bruce after Bannockburn—the battle itself began by single combat between a Bohun and Bruce—and that he was exchanged for Bruce's wife, who had long been a prisoner in the hands of the English, and had been under Bohun's own control. *Fædera*, II. part i. 72; Dugdale's *Baronage*, I. 182. Further, Bruce's lordship of Annandale in Scotland, wrested from him by Edward the First, had in 1306 been given by the king to Bohun. *Rot. Cart.* 34 Edw. I. n. 33; Dugdale, *ut supra*.

³ The later Bohuns knew something of gunpowder, but not much. William, Earl of Northampton, commanded the second line at Crecy.

their halls and homes contained, what their household consisted of, what their religion was to them — to know all that, and so to know how others like them lived and fared, cannot fail to be instructive to those who would know the past in its entirety.

The documents following throw light upon such matters ; and the value of these documents is increased by the fact that they are a continuous series of pictures of one family through four generations, practically covering the fourteenth century. Wills of the fourteenth century in great numbers have been printed, but it would be difficult to match the present series of documents with another of equal interest pertaining to any one great family of the time. Want of space forbids detailed illustration of the value of these instruments ; but one instance in point must not be passed by, lest the reader should overlook it. In these as in many other wills of early times gifts of illuminated books frequently occur ; a fact to be borne in mind in taking account of the state of civilization among laymen of rank. But the will of the last Earl of Hereford tells of something more. It reveals the existence of illuminators ('luminours,' limners) of manuscripts, or rather books, as members of the testator's household. Two are mentioned, one of them as 'our illuminator.' This is a very interesting addition to our stock of knowledge, first in regard to the family itself, which is known to have cultivated letters, and then in its suggestiveness touching other families of the time, of wealth and literary tastes. In the light of this information how interesting becomes the frequent mention of books richly illuminated ; how interesting especially the description in the will of the Duchess of Gloucester of the psalter she leaves to her son Humphrey. It is 'a psalter well and richly illuminated, with gold clasps enamelled with white swans' — the swan was the Bohun badge — 'and the arms of my lord and father enamelled on the clasps, and bars of gold with work in form of mullets, which psalter was given to me to remain to my heirs, and so from heir to heir.' Every touch in this description serves to identify it as a Bohun work of art, and one, in view of what the preceding will discloses, probably done by 'our illuminator' of Plessy Castle.

The usefulness of a painstaking, annotated translation of such documents as these will be manifest to any one who for the first time undertakes to read a will written in Old French. A reading knowledge of the language would indeed enable one to get a tolerably correct general idea of a will of the time, but to understand thoroughly such a document, of any length, requires some familiarity with early wills. Not that, in the fourteenth century, wills had

come to be full of technical terms as they are apt to be now, though occasionally technical terms do occur in them, but that they contain terms that did not find their way into books that are read,¹ and so have not found their way into the general glossaries. Some of these words indeed are not to be found anywhere except in wills or other official documents. To know the meaning of such words one must become familiar with parallel or similar passages in other instruments or records. Who, for instance, however familiar with Anglo-French literature but with that only, would hit upon the meaning of such a word as 'tixt' in the third of these documents? And then there are words to be found only in special glossaries — glossaries of particular books which are unknown to all but a few.

The translation here given is a literal one, French words in general being retained in their native state, but in English dress, where they have been adopted into English. Thus, 'gipeaux' becomes 'gipons,' Chaucer's 'gipoun,' rather than 'pourpoint' or 'jupon' of later times; 'gipon' being still an English if unusual word. So 'mors' becomes 'morse,' rather than buckle or clasp, and thus retains its identity, as distinguished from 'fermail,' which also appears in its own form. But this has not been made a hard and fast rule. Two words are treated in another way, 'deviser' and 'ordeigner.' The first of these words was seldom if ever used in wills written in English until after the time of the wills here printed. Used alike of lands² and of chattels in wills in Anglo-French, and later in wills in English, the word still retained its primitive and colorless meaning. Its contemporaneous (as well as present) equivalent, in the sense of *give*, is found exactly in etymology and current meaning in 'bequeath,' by which word, unchanged as it is in signification, it is therefore uniformly translated.³ In regard to 'ordeigner,' to have turned that word into 'ordain,' though that was done constantly in writing wills in English, would have been to give the word a very antiquated sense.⁴ It has been translated 'appoint.'

¹ Furnivall, speaking of the wills of medieval England, says: 'They use words not found in books.' Preface to *Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills*.

² Wills of land are occasionally met with at this time, notwithstanding the feudal law.

³ When used in the sense of *desire*, the word is translated 'will,' for that would be its legal meaning. Another etymological equivalent found occasionally in English-written wills of the fifteenth century is 'bewit.' 'I bewit my gold ryng with the diamond to hyng about the nek of the ymage of our Lady. . . . Also I bewit another ryng with a ruby and one turcos to hyng aboute our Lady's nek,' etc. John Carr's Will, *York Wills*, IV. 27 (1487).

Besides 'bequeath,' the words 'give' and 'will' are constantly used, as might be expected, in English-written wills of the fourteenth century.

⁴ E.g. 'I ordain so and so as my executors.'

It has been necessary to leave a few words untranslated; their meaning could not be made out.

Five wills and an inventory are here translated. The text in the original is the printed copy in the *Archæological Journal* for the first will, and that of Nicolas, in *Royal Wills*, for the three following. The original of the will of Margaret, Countess of Devon, has never been printed; a fresh copy has been obtained for translation from the Public Record Office, London. The copy of the inventory, one of the most interesting documents of the time, is also a fresh one from the same source.¹

Explanatory notes are given once for all upon the first occasion.

I

Will of Humphrey de Bohun, fourth Earl of Hereford of the name. Born in 1176; married Elizabeth Plantagenet, next to the youngest daughter of Edward the First, November 25, 1302; killed in battle at Boroughbridge, March 16, 1321-2. *Archæological Journal*, II. 346 (1845), for the original.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, in good memory and understanding, make my last will in the manner following. First, I bequeath my soul to our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered death on the cross for me and for all sinners, and to the benign Virgin Mary, his blessed mother, and to all the saints of Paradise, and my body to be buried in the Church of our very sweet Lady of Walden, near the body of Elizabeth, my late wife.² Likewise, I will that all my debts be fully paid and acquitted, and what is wanting of the will of my wife, I wish that it be performed in all things.³ Likewise, I bequeath for the carrying of my body from the place where I may die to the Abbey of Walden,⁴ and for the giving of alms, and for my burial, and for provision for the leave-taking at my burial,⁵ and for all other

¹ Both were furnished by and testify to the care of Messrs. Hardy and Page (each F. S. A.), Record Agents, Lincoln's Inn. The copy of the inventory in the *Archæological Journal* is confessedly incomplete; the one here translated is in full.

² The word here and elsewhere translated 'wife,' is 'compaignon.' The testator's wish as to his burial was not carried out. It probably was not known to those who took charge of his remains, as he had been killed in battle. He was buried in the Church of Black Friars, at York.

³ Two things will be noticed, a will by a married woman, and the unexecuted part of the same committed by the executor of it, by will, to his own executors. See also the will of Richard, Earl of Arundel, *Royal Wills*, 130, 136. The testator's wife was living in 1315, four years before.

⁴ Of which the earls of Hereford were patrons. It was in Essex; the place is now called Audley End.

⁵ That is, for entertaining the company present; the wake.

things which pertain to the same, 1000 marks,¹ charging my executors that the bodies of my father, my mother, and my wife be as honorably covered as my body,² and that over all our bodies there shall be but one herce of one course of lights.³ Likewise, I bequeath to my lord the king⁴ a pot and a cup of gold⁵ which my wife bequeathed to me. Item, to Sir⁶ Bartholomew de Badlesmere the black charger⁷ which I brought from beyond the sea. And for that my lord the king of his own good will has granted me by his letters patent the half of the issues of all my land from the day that God shall have done his will concerning me⁸ until the full age of my heir,⁹

¹ The equivalent to-day of something like \$150,000. See comparisons below.

² That is, equally honored with rich hangings, in the abbey.

³ The herce was a frame (commonly of wood-work, sometimes beautifully carved and ornamented) placed over the body while lying in state. It was often hung, in the case of great people, with tapestry or other rich cloths, while around the top lights were placed. In this case, the direction appears to have been that the testator's body should be put beside the tombs of his wife and his father, and that a herce should be constructed to cover them all.

⁴ Edward the Second, his brother-in-law.

⁵ One cannot feel quite sure whether the qualifying word 'dor' here, and 'dargent' elsewhere, applies to both of two objects named or to the second only; hence the very form of the expression in the original has been followed in such places in the translation. Precise description was not necessary, for the articles themselves were at hand, duly disposed for identification.

⁶ Here, and in some other passages indicated, the word 'Sir' is for 'Monsire,' a word which ordinarily meant more than 'Sire.' It denoted not only baronial rank, but in most cases, as here and elsewhere in these documents, what 'Sire' did not, intimacy. Sometimes, however, the words are used synonymously; at the beginning of the inventory following this will we have 'Monsire Nicholas de la Beche,' and at the end, 'Sire Nicholas,' etc., the same person. ('Monsieur' was undreamt of, as it is now used.) 'Monsieur' often meant 'my lord,' especially in the will of the Countess of Devon, and in such cases is so translated.

⁷ There is small danger of confusing 'chargeor' (war-horse) here with 'chargeor' (tray) in other places further on.

The 'black charger' was to have another rider than Bohun's friend. Badlesmere fell into the hands of the king in the fatal battle in which Bohun lost his life, and was directly tried and executed for treason. He had enjoyed the special favor of the king — he was just from the post of Steward of the King's Household — and his conduct, added to the insult to the queen by Lady Badlesmere, was accordingly treated as peculiarly ungrateful and treasonable; he was drawn, hanged, and beheaded. *Siege of Carlaverock*, Nicolas, 354.

⁸ A common euphemism of the time, for death. See again near the end of this will, and the will of the testator's son, *post*. In a poem on the death of Edward the First (1307), written soon after the event, 'hearkneth,' says the poet,

'Of a knyght that wes so strong,
Of wham God hath don ys wille.'

— Percy, *Reliques*, I. 250.

'That ye do hym oure wille' — 'to distroie Hugh Spencer, our enymy.' Letter of Queen Isabel (1326), 'takked upon the newe crosse in Chepe.' *Chron. of London*, Notes, p. 152; id. pp. 49, 50.

⁹ The testator holds of the king, and his heir, if under age, at the testator's death, would be in the king's wardship; so the king would be entitled to the rents and profits

and all the money which can be raised for the marriage of my said heir; [with this] and out of all the money which my said lord the king owes me by account settled in his wardrobe¹ for my stay with him, and also out of all the money which the Earl of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand owes me,² I bequeath to Humphrey, Edward, William, and Eneas, my sons, that is to say to each of them £2000³ for buying lands or marriages, or to be used in any other way, according to what my executors shall think profitable for them; and if the money aforesaid should amount to more, we wish that it be divided wholly between our four sons aforesaid. Likewise, I bequeath to Eleanor, my daughter, for her apparel for her marriage £200.⁴ Item, I bequeath to Sir ['Monsire'] Hugh de Courtenay 1000⁵ marks, the which I owe him for the marriage of Margaret, my daughter, to his son and heir. Item, I bequeath to this same Margaret for the apparel for her marriage 200 marks.⁶ Likewise, I bequeath to my eldest son all my armor and a bed complete⁷ of green powdered with [figures of] white swans,⁸

of the estates of the testator until his heir became of age. The half of these, the testator says, the king has relinquished.

¹ Or office of chamberlain to the king.

² On account of the dower rights of the testator's late wife, due from her first husband, John, Earl of Holland, now for more than twenty years deceased. The Earl of Hereford had not yet been able, even with the aid of the king and a judgment in the Council of the present Earl of Holland, establishing the claim, to obtain payment of the late Earl of Holland's matrimonial debts. *Fædera*, II. part i. 82, showing the king's intervention in 1315.

³ From the year 1300 to the year 1344 the shilling of England contained (22 grains to the penny, 12 pence a shilling, 22×12) 264 grains of silver (against 288 when the pound silver was a full pound, Troy weight. Madox, *History of Exchequer*, 188, 189). Shaw's *History of Currency* (London, 1895), 44. The English shilling of to-day weighs 86 grains. That is, the shilling at the time of this will contained somewhat more than three times as much silver as the shilling of to-day; and, of course, the pound then more than three times the pound now. Treating the ratio, for the purpose of a broad comparison, as three to one, the testator gives to each of the four sons £6000. But the purchase-power, in labor, of money of the fourteenth century (thus equalized in weight and real value) is commonly reckoned at about fifteen times that of money of to-day; hence the £6000 represents roughly, in *coined* silver of to-day, £90,000, or \$450,000—that amount to each of the four sons named for buying lands or for marriage portions.

In 1344 the weight of the silver shilling was reduced to (20 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains to the penny) 243 grains, and reduction went on at stated times afterwards. In 1346 the weight was by law put at (20 grains to the penny) 240 grains; in 1353 it was put at (18 grains to the penny) 216 grains; in 1414 it was put at (15 grains to the penny) 180 grains. Shaw, pp. 44, 45-6, 55-6.

⁴ Equalizing the money as in the last note, the gift is £600 (and more), and £600 \times 15 = £9000, or \$450,000 to-day.

⁵ A mark was two-thirds of a pound, or 13s. 4d. The gift, equalized as before, was 3000 marks, and 3000 marks \times 15 = 45,000 marks, or \$150,000.

⁶ Equalized: 600 marks \times 15 = 9000 marks, or \$30,000.

⁷ The bed furnishings.

⁸ The swan was the Bohun badge or cognizance. See note on Knight of the Swan, Countess of Devon's Will, *post*.

with all the belongings. Item, I bequeath to Master John Walewayn a cup stamped and embossed with *fleur-de-lis*, which had belonged to Saint Edmund of Pountiny,¹ and a little cup which Giles of Herteberghe gave to me at Bruges, and a gold ring with a ruby which my wife bequeathed to me and which is all full of bruises and is in a little casket in a large box at the end of the lower wardrobe. Likewise, I bequeath to Sir ['Monsire'] Robert de Haustede Sr., and to Lady Margery his wife, for the care of my son Eneas, £100. And to Sir ['Monsire'] Robert de Walkfare £60, and to Sir ['Monsire'] Walter de Shorne, to whom we have made no payment, £100. Likewise, I bequeath to Philippa Wake, mistress of my daughter Eleanor, £20, and to Maud de Bascreville, my sister, for her marriage, £40. Item, I bequeath to Catharine de Buckland, mistress of my daughter Margaret, £10. And to Isabel, wife of Piers de Geudford, 100 shillings. Likewise, I bequeath to the Chapter-general of the Friars Preachers² for masses and other prayers, to chant and say for my soul, £20. And to the Chapter-general of the Friars Minorites,³ for the same things, £20. Also to the Chapter of the Friars of Saint Augustine for the same things, 20 marks. And to the Chapter-general of the Friars Carmelites⁴ for the same things, 20 marks. Likewise, I bequeath to the Abbot and Convent of Walden for chanting masses and making other benefactions for my soul, £10. And to the Prior and Convent of Lanthonay near Gloucester⁵ for the same things, £10. Item, to the Prior and Convent of Farleigh for the same things, £10. And to the Prior and Convent of Brecknock for the same things, £10. And to the Prior and Convent of Hurley for the same things, £10. And to the Prior and Convent of Stoneley, 100 shillings. And to the Prior and Convent of Worcester for the same things, £10. Likewise, I bequeath to Houard de Soyrou, master to my son Humphrey, £20, and to Robert Swan, who is with our son John and his brothers, £20. Item, I bequeath to Robert de Clifton £10. And to Robert de la Lee £10. Item, to Master Walter, my cook, £10. And to William, my falconer, £10. And to Robert Brutyn £10. Also to Berthelet, the falconer, 100 shillings. And to John de Gynes 100 shillings. Likewise I bequeath to William Wrothe, my constable of Brecknock, £20. And to Thomas Gobyoun, my constable of Plessy, £20. And to Henry Herbert £10. Item, I bequeath to Walter the cellarar 100 shillings, and to Roger the cook 100 shillings, and to Richard the dean 100 shillings. I bequeath to

¹ Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in exile at Pontigny (1240), and was canonized.

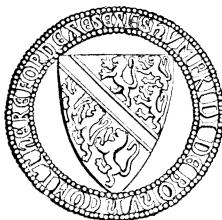
² Dominicans, or Black Friars.

³ Franciscans, or Gray Friars.

⁴ White Friars.

⁵ This was a special Bohun house, to be distinguished from the Priory of Lanthonay in Wales, which was the parent house. Most of the other religious houses here remembered were also under the patronage of the Earls of Hereford. Of the places following, Brecknock is in Wales; Farleigh is in Wiltshire; there is a Hurley in Berkshire; and there is a Stoneleigh (and Stoneleigh Abbey) in Warwick. Plessy was in Essex; Plessy Castle was the testator's home.

John the dean 50 shillings, and to Adam de Rothingge 100 shillings. Item, to John the chandler 50 shillings, and to William the farrier £ 10. Item, I bequeath to Adam the farrier 100 shillings and to William of Weston 100 shillings. Item, to Milles 100 shillings, and to Thomas the baker 100 shillings. Likewise I bequeath to Thomas of the treasury ['despense'], my chamberlain, 10 marks. And to Poun my barber 10 marks. Item, to William of the wardrobe 100 shillings, and to Robert my hosteler¹ 100 shillings. Item, I bequeath to Gilbert the poultreer 100 shillings, and to each of my [serving] boys who shall have been with me more than a year on the day when God shall have done his will concerning me 20 shillings. Likewise, I will that of all my horses some of the best shall be set apart for my burial.² And for performing all things aforesaid I have appointed Master John Walewayn, Sir ['Monsire'] Bartholomew Denefeu, the Abbot of Walden, and Sir John de Walden, my executors. Written at Gosforth near New Castle-upon-Tyne the eleventh day of August, in the year of grace one thousand three hundred and nineteen.³



FACSIMILE OF SEAL TO THIS WILL.
FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

II

Inventory of certain personal property of the same Humphrey de Bohun. Translated from a transcript of the original manuscript in the Public Record Office, London, Ancient Deeds (Duchy of Lancaster), I. 29, specially furnished.⁴

¹ The one who received and provided for guests; here, of course, not an innkeeper.

² As a mortuary or burial offering to the parson of the church in which the funeral service should be held. See Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, Introd. II. vii. Animals as mortuaries were sometimes driven before the corpse at the funeral. *Id.* 123, Will of John Rokel (1368), giving a bullock, so to be driven.

³ As the testator was in rebellion at the time of his death, all of his property was forfeited (for a time), and his will was not probated. At the time of this will, two years and a half before his death, he was in one of the expeditions against the Despensers, and writes his will probably in camp.

⁴ Punctuation by the writer. There is scarcely any in the original MS., and there is doubt sometimes what it should be.

This indenture witnesseth of divers things which belonged to the Earl of Hereford, found in the Abbey of Walden¹ on the Wednesday next after the Annunciation of our Lady, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Edward,² son of King Edward, and delivered by the abbot of the said place to Sir ['Monsire'] Nicholas de la Beche.³ That is to say, belonging to Eneas de Bohun⁴: one gold nouch⁵ having three grains of emeralds and nine pearls, with a sapphire in the midst, one gold ring having an emerald, twelve silver dishes, twelve saucers,⁶ and two silver basins. Belonging to William de Bohun⁷: one gold nouch having four garnets and four pearls and one emerald, one gold ring having one emerald, six dishes and six saucers, four pieces of silver [plate],⁸ two silver basins having escutcheons of the arms of England and Ulster. Belonging to Humphrey de Bohun⁹: one gold fermail¹⁰ having three emeralds and three rubies, one gold ring,

¹ Other belongings of the earl were left at Lanthonby Priory; and the prior, who stood by his patron, got into trouble about some of them. *Parliamentary Writs*, II. 242, no. 76.

² A.D. 1322.

³ He had just been made the king's constable of the late earl's castle of Plessy (Dugdale's *Baronage*, II. 127), and was now taking possession of the earl's property as forfeited to the king for the rebellion; *ante*, p. 418. As to the title 'Monsire,' given 'Sire' at the end of this document, see *ante*, p. 423, note 6.

⁴ Testator's youngest son; he died in youth or early manhood.

⁵ Also written 'ouch'; a costly brooch, buckle, or clasp for fastening on a garment, such as a mantel; often richly jewelled.

⁶ 'Dishes' ('esqueles') is almost invariably followed at once by 'saucers' ('sausers'), not only in these but in other wills and inventories. What were these 'dishes,' for such is the word in the early English-written wills? Some kind of bowl is indicated by 'esquele,' Latin *scutella*, a small shield. In mod. French 'écuelle' means porringer; and in a will of the Rector of Winnal, near Winchester, of the year 1551, the testator makes a bequest (*inter alia*) of 'a potynger with ij sawsers,' *Gent. Magazine*, V 19 (Gomme). Perhaps then porringer is the meaning of 'esquele' here. The 'saucer' by etymology and early definition was a dish for sauce. The number of dishes and saucers is often, as here, but not always (see *infra*), the same.

⁷ Testator's fifth son, afterwards Earl of Northampton; *ante*, p. 415, note 6.

⁸ These are apt to go with dishes and saucers, but very likely that may be accidental. See *infra*; also *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, 65, l. 12, and 78, l. 24; *Royal Wills*, 112, 113.

⁹ Testator's third son, heir to his brother John as Earl of Hereford and Essex.

¹⁰ A large, and, among people of rank or wealth, a rich and costly buckle, clasp, or brooch. Fairholt, in his *Dict. of Costume*, II. 166, gives to the word a meaning which implies that the article was worn only by women; a meaning too narrow, for here Humphrey, John, and Edward have, each of them, 'a gold fermail.' Fairholt's definition is: 'A brooch closing the aperture of the dress at the breast'; and for illustration he refers to a cut (I. 93) of such a brooch at the neck of Berengaria, wife of Richard the First. To his definition he adds a reference to a circular brooch of the fourteenth century, like that of Berengaria, on which was the inscription:

'Je suis fermail pour garder sein
Que nul villain n'y mette main.'

¹¹ On avait des fermaux pour attacher les manteaux, les chapes, les robes; pour suspendre

having one diamond, twelve dishes, twelve saucers, four pieces of silver [plate], two small silver basins having the arms of England and France, one silver charger. Belonging to John de Bohun¹: one gold fermail having six large emeralds, one gold ring having one diamond, six dishes, six saucers of silver, and ten pieces of silver [plate], two silver basins having the arms of England and of Holland, one charger, and twelve silver spoons. Belonging to Edward de Bohun²: one gold fermail having four emeralds and three rubies, one gold ring having a diamond, six dishes, six saucers of silver, and four pieces of silver [plate], two silver basins having the arms of England and France. Belonging to Margaret de Bohun³: one gold basin having one escutcheon of [the arms of] England and four escutcheons of divers arms, a table pax⁴ having one image of silver gilt, three cups, one of them being of gold, and one of silver gilt and enamelled, one ewer of the same set ['suite'],⁵ one crystal cup having one silver gilt foot⁶ and a ewer of the set, one silver censer,⁷ one gold ewer having the arms of Holland, one silver bucket for holy water. A bowl ['escurge']

les aumôniers, les cassolettes, etc,' Racinet, *Le Costume Historique*, Glossary (I. 200); there called 'Broche de grandes dimensions.'

¹ Testator's eldest living son, the fifth (Bohun) Earl of Hereford. After the first Bohun earl (Henry, of Magna Charta, whose father and forefathers were all Humphreys), down to and including the last Earl of Hereford, all were Humphreys except this John; and but for the death of an elder brother Humphrey — who died young — there would have been no exception then.

John, now Earl of Hereford and Essex, at this time about sixteen years of age, was at Windsor castle as a ward of the king, his uncle. Certain belongings of the late earl, already referred to as at Lanthony Priory, and not mentioned in this inventory, were secretly sent to John at Windsor. *Parl. Writs*, II. 242, no. 76, with account of the troubles which the fact, on discovery, brought upon the prior.

² Testator's fourth son; drowned anno 1334.

³ Younger of the two living daughters of the testator, afterwards married to Hugh de Courtenay, later Earl of Devon. Her will is given *post*. Two other daughters of the testator had died young.

⁴ A small hand tablet, five or six inches by three or four, or thereabouts, more or less richly ornamented and enamelled, containing the representation of some Christian object of adoration; such as the crucifix with the Virgin and Saint John on either side, the Trinity, the adoration of the Magi, or the baptism of Christ. The pax is often called 'osculatorium' (see *Chron. Evesham*, 301; Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, I. 660; II. 469; Introd. II. xii.), and is supposed to be connected with the 'kiss of peace' of the apostles, by way of substitution. In Pugin's *Glossary of Eccl. Ornaments*, the pax is a tablet 'carried round having been kissed by the priest, after the Agnus Dei in the mass, to communicate the kiss of peace.' For cuts and descriptions see *Arch. Journal*, II. 144-151; also *id.* 49, of a pax in New College, Oxford, of the crucifixion, size $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ inches.

⁵ A very common and, therefore, suggestive word in regard to house-furnishings. The ewer was a vessel, here evidently beautiful and costly, for holding water. For a colored figure of one, of large size, see Shaw's *Decorative Arts in the Middle Ages*, plate 38.

⁶ As to cups with feet see *Arch. Journal*, II. 176; Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, II. xlvi. and 337, 'le Fotēdcupp.'

⁷ See Shaw's *Decorative Arts*, plate 14, and description.

also of silver, two small silver cruets¹ and one gilt salt-cellar,² two plates having silver feet, for spices, twenty-four silver dishes, seven silver saucers, two basins and one charger of silver, two gold spoons and one of silver, two small ivory images of our Lady, one small chest having [figures of] silver leaves, two gold coronals³ having emeralds, rubies, and pearls, three gold circlets,⁴ having emeralds, rubies, and sapphires and pearls,⁵ two circlets of Paris work,⁶ and two garlands, two headdresses of pearls and other work in quatrefoil, of Paris work, one large gold nouch powdered full of emeralds, rubies and pearls, one small nouch having four garnets and one emerald, one small nouch having two garnets and two rubies and one pearl in the midst and pearls and doublets⁷ for buttons, three small silver gilt morses,⁸ one small gold table enamelled within, two pairs of paternosters,⁹

¹ Vessels for holding wine and water intended for consecration at the altar. *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, 136.

² Often having the form of a dog, stag, lion, or other animal, and costly. See *Royal Wills*, 112-114, ‘un saler en la manere d'une lyoun ove le pee d'argent susorrez’; also *Arch. Journal*, II. 259, with cut.

³ Ornaments encircling the head; broader probably than the circlets which Fairholt (I. 127) says were a sort of coronal. An engraving (not dated) of Eleanor, queen of Henry the Third, in possession of the writer, shows her adjusting a jewelled coronal of rich and beautiful design.

⁴ See last note.

⁵ Before the word ‘pearls’ here and in the preceding line occurs the word ‘autres.’

⁶ A kind of jewellery, according to Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic Terms*. See *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, 101, l. 23. But that conveys little meaning. It was probably work of skill and art in jewellery and in other objects of apparel or ornamentation.

⁷ Among lapidaries in modern times, a doublet is a stone of two pieces of crystal with colors between, so as to look as if the whole were tinged with them. Worcester. But possibly here, as the doublets were for buttons, two stones or studs connected by links. In an engraving by Wilkes (1804) the mantle of Edward the First is represented as fastened by such studs.

⁸ The morse (from *mordere, morsus*) was a kind of button with clasp, often of very costly material and workmanship, worn by clergy and laity. When worn by the clergy, it was used to prevent the cope from slipping off, and was fastened on the breast by a clasp; in which case it was from five to six inches in breadth, either circular, square, or in some form taken from among the details of the architecture of the time. It was of gold, silver, ivory, or copper, or of wood overlaid with precious metals. Gems and pearls were often set in it. See a rich example of a large circular morse, in enamel, with sacred figures around the border and in the centre relating to the birth of John the Baptist, in colors, in Shaw's *Decorative Arts*, plate 7, beginning of the fourteenth century, and description.

⁹ A pair of paternosters — called a ‘pair’ from the circlets made as suspended from the girdle or arm — was a single rosary, a string of beads for counting prayers. The term ‘rosary,’ though in use at this time, was not applied as it has been since to beads; instead of rosary we generally find ‘paternosters’ — of course from the first words of the Lord’s prayer. See Bridgett, *Our Lady’s Dowry*, chap. 5:

Of smal coral aboute hir arm she bar
A peire of bedes, gauded all with grene;
And thereon heng a broche of goldful shene.’

Chaucer, *Prologue to Cant. Tales*, 157-160 (Skeat). Costly paternosters were much worn as ornaments.

the one of coral, the other of jet, having the large beads ['gaudeez'] gilt, one girdle of say¹ powdered with white pearls and with coral and the mordent² having three escutcheons of arms of France, Spain, and the Empire,³ three gold rings having three sapphires, one gold ring having one 'peritocé,'⁴ one 'Israel'-stone⁵ set in silver, one other stone set in silver, one ring having one ruby, two rings having emeralds, one ring having sapphires, one ring having grain of ruby, one ring having grain of emerald, two rings having garnets, four silver [pieces of] money enamelled, one portion of them with white pearls, and another portion with blue ['de Inde'] pearls,⁶ one amber ball set in three silver braces, one branch of coral, three eagle-stones,⁷ one silver ship ['nef'] for alms.⁸ Belonging to Eleanor de Bohun⁹: one wooden table painted for an altar,¹⁰ one cross having one silver gilt foot, two small silver basins for the chapel,¹¹ one ivory image of our Lady in a closed tabernacle,¹² one small ivory image of Saint Catharine, two silver

¹ A kind of silk or satin. 'That fine *say* whereof silk cloth is made.' Quotation in *Century Dictionary*, under 'Say.'

² The metal case or covering at one end of the girdle, having a clasp or tongue (hence 'mordaunt,' 'mordent,' from *mordere*, like *morse*, *supra*) to connect it with the other end; often richly studded and beautiful. See cuts in Fairholt.

'The mordaunt, wrought in noble wyse,
Was of a stoon ful precious.' — *Rom. of the Rose*, 1094 (Skeat).

³ The Holy Roman or German Empire.

⁴ Perhaps from *petra virtuosa*, a talismanic stone. See Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, Introd. II. xli.: 'A ring which was considered to possess healing or talismanic property was called in medieval Latin *virtuosus*.' Such a ring had Sir Lancelot to his service in some of his troubles.

⁵ Among the effects of Piers Gavaston (1313) was a purse of cloth of gold containing two Jerusalem-stones. *Fœdera*, II. part i. 30; *Siege of Carlaverock*, Nicolas, 139.

⁶ Qu. as to the meaning of this? The original reads, 'iiii. deniers dargent en aumaillez une porcioun des blanches perles & une autre porcioun de perles de Inde.'

⁷ Stones supposed to possess various talismanic properties, especially in child-birth. There was a famous one at the shrine of St. Albans. In form and substance the eagle-stone or aetite was a rounded lump of clay ironstone, hollow, with a loose nucleus within, which rattled when the stone was shaken. See *Middlesex and Herts Notes and Queries*, January, 1895, p. 35.

⁸ 'The most curious appendage of the table of the prince and noblemen of high rank was the ship (nef). . . . The form of it was evidently borrowed from the navette (naveta), a ship-like vessel in which frankincense was kept on the altar.' *Arch. Journal*, II. 266, with cut representing a page carrying the nef. See 'navette' of Eleanor below. It is called 'naviculus' in *Chron. Evesham*, 301 (1376). 'In his bewilderment he served the king with mustard instead of honey from the great silver ship full of condiments, in the centre of the table.' *Prince and Page* (Miss Yonge), ch. 14. The prince is afterwards Edward the First.

⁹ Elder daughter of the testator, afterwards married to James Butler, Earl of Ormond.

¹⁰ See *post*, in will of Countess of Devon.

¹¹ Of Plessy Castle. 'Our chapel in our castle of Plessy,' *post*, on the fourth page of the next and concluding instalment.

¹² Not uncommon in *churches*. 'The images in the churches frequently stood under handsome canopies or tabernacles.' Bridgett, *Our Lady's Dowry*, 267. 'I will that my

candlesticks for the chapel, one bucket and one bowl ['escurge'] of silver for holy water, two cruets, and one little silver bell ['sonet'],¹ and one little silver ship ['navette'] for incense, one silver gilt censer, twenty-two dishes and six saucers of silver, two small basins and one charger of silver, one silver plate for spices, with the foot having escutcheons of divers arms, and two other plain silver plates for spices, four silver pots having the covers and one ewer of the set, and one silver gilt pot together with two ewers of the set, one white mazer-bowl² having the cover, one gold hanap³ having the cover and enamelled, with a brace ['crampoun'], and one gold pot, one silver gilt chalice for the chapel, one silver salt-cellar, one gold cup having one escutcheon of Holland, one foot for one silver gilt hanap, two gold spoons and one of silver, one gold nouch cut as a shield, having an eagle, sapphires, rubies, pearls and one ruby pendant from the eagle's beak, one rich gold coronet ['coroune'] having emeralds, rubies, and pearls, and one other richer gold coronet having emeralds, rubies, and sapphires and white pearls, two silver circlets of Paris work, one chaplet of pearls having the arms of Holland, one headdress of small pearls and stones, four gold circlets of emeralds, garnets, and pearls, one headdress of pearls having the escutcheons of arms of England and Holland, one silver box enamelled, together with one gold ring having one ruby, one small print of silver leaves,⁴ together with a frontel of say for a bacinet,⁵ three branches of coral, one musk-ball set in a silver brace, having small stones and pearls,

executors do peynte and gylde the tabernakyll of our Lady of Pity at my cost.' Ibid. See also p. 320, referring to a shrine of the Virgin at Ipswich, where there had been an image of gold of the Virgin, in a tabernacle of silver gilt. Such things the great, as the text shows, had at home.

¹ 'As around the bishop's tunicle, so to both ends of the stole little bells of silver used sometimes to be fastened in Anglo-Saxon times, there is strong reason for supposing; certain, indeed, it is that, for ages after the Anglo-Saxon period, such bells . . . continued to be sewed to the extremities of our English stole and maniple.' Shaw's *Decorative Arts*, under 'Triptych.'

² Generally of maple-wood; also of other spotted or mottled hard wood. *Century Dict.*; *Arch. Journal*, II. 262, with cut of bowl having a cover. The commonest of drinking-vessels; often mounted upon a foot. Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, Introd. II. xlvi.; *Archæologia*, 1887, I. part i. 129. 'A mazer ywrought of the maple warre.' Spenser.

³ A cup raised on a stem, with or without a cover, often, as here, of costly material and delicate workmanship. See *Arch. Journal*, II. 180, 263, 264; Shaw's *Decorative Arts*, plate 9, in colors, enamelled and exquisite in design and execution, with description (thirteenth century). What the 'crampoun,' ordinarily a brace, in this instance was, is not clear; perhaps it was something within which the hanap was placed when not in use. 'Hanaper' is of course from this word.

⁴ That is, an article stamped with silver leaves.

⁵ A small helmet, a sort of cap of metal, lined, usually conical-shaped at this time; the helmet, worn in battle or tournaments, was much larger, and was worn over the bacinet.

'An helm he had on his heved set,
And ther-under a thick basinet.'

— 'Guy of Warwick,' *Early English Metrical Romances*, Halliwell, 229.

three eagle-stones, one flower of our Lady,¹ one small musk-cup having the foot and the cover of silver gilt quatrefoils of Paris work, three silver morses gilt, pearls of divers colors and doublets also, three small silver spoons having [figures of] cockles of the sea, one small tablet having one crucifix and one mariole of our Lady, enamelled, two silver brooches² for a mantle in a small ivory case, one gold comb and one silver mirror with one silver brooch in a case, one girl's girdle of silver, one black box bound ['herneise'] in gold, two gold rings having sapphires, one stone enclosed in silver, one pair of amber paternosters, and one other of silver and three diamonds³ and one purse ['bourse'], one ring having one sapphire, two rings having emeralds, one ring having one small ruby, two rings having small emeralds, one piece of gold [plate] melted down, and one ivory box bound in silver. For the Earl of Hereford⁴: one gold cup having one escutcheon of Holland and Hereford, one pot and one ewer of gold of the same set, one silver pot for arms and one gilt salt-cellar, the large coronet ['la grande coroune'] having rubies, emeralds, and pearls, and upon the crest rubies and sapphires, which the queen her mother bequeathed ['devisa']⁵ to the Countess of Hereford. These are the things which the said abbot received from John de Tosseburi: that is to say, eighteen pieces of tapestry and green bench-coverings ['banquers'] powdered with swans, and one habergeon⁶ which is called Bolioun, and one pair of plates covered with green velvet, two gipons,⁷ two coats with arms of the earl,

¹ The rose, emblem of the Virgin, herself called by the Catholic Church, Rosa Mystica. Bridgett, *Our Lady's Dowry*, 343.

² The word here translated 'brooches' is 'broche.' The word appears to be more or less interchangeable with 'nouch,' as are also, perhaps, the words 'fermail' and 'morse.' But each of these French words retains its French name in the translation, as it appears in the English of the time, and in modern times.

³ It is interesting to note that we have here, in the original, the earlier form of the word we call 'diamond,' namely, 'aymaux,' singular 'aymant,' that is, 'adimant.' In other places in the inventory the word is 'diamauta.'

⁴ John, eldest living son of the late earl, now at Windsor castle; *supra*, p. 428, note 1.

⁵ This word may here mean simply *grave*, rather than bequeathed or gave by will.

⁶ Diminutive of hauberk; a breast-plate.

⁷ The jupon or pourpoint, a close-fitting garment worn in battle, or on the march, in tournaments, and other great occasions, displaying the owner's arms, and hence worn over the coat of mail. So the cuts represent it. See Fairholt, I. 153, 206, 207; *Arch. Journal*, II. 215; Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, I. But Fairholt (II. 184), quoting Strutt, says *under* the coat of mail; which is contrary to what the former himself had already said (I. 206). Of what use would the figure of arms be if under the coat of mail? Chaucer says:

'Of fustian he wered a gipoun,
Al bismotered with his habergeoun.'

Prologue to Canterbury Tales, 75. See also *Knight's Tale*, 2120, where the knight appears 'in a light gipoun.' There was a close-fitting garment worn next the body, called variously gambeson, acketon or hacketon, floternel, and (*Song of Roland*, 282 and Gautier's note) blialt. The blialt was worn by women also. Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, I. Introduction. Strutt thought the gambeson and the gipoun the same thing. See Fairholt, II. 184.

four pairs of ailettes¹ with arms of the Earl of Hereford, one cloth of gold for a bed, one covering of red samite² and one covering of blue ['de Inde'] samite, and one small covering of say for a bed for children, four swords, one with arms of the said earl, the second of Saint George, and the third of 'Sarziney,' the fourth of war, one Holland quilt ['quintepoint'] and one white sendal³ and one striped with red velvet and peacocks' feathers and one other with arms of England and Hereford quartered, one dosser⁴ of the set, one long table-cloth⁵ and three towels, three coverings of ermine, one for a children's bed, two coverings of menever, one black ['gronoir'] and two gray, one of the latter for a children's bed, one canopy and one dosser of green sendal and of red for one bed, two silver chargers, one basin for alms having one escutcheon of the arms of Hereford wanting a ring, one book which is called Sydrac,⁶ two bacinets, the one covered with leather the other burnished, two coverchiefs for the head of a bed⁷ furred with menever, the one of cloth of 'Tarse,'⁸ the other embroidered, one screen of red sendal, two pieces of blue ['de Inde'] tapestry, one pair of hose of Cordova, having buttons, one iron corset, one covering for a horse with the

¹ Small square — sometimes round, pentagonal, or lozenge-shaped — shields of stiff fabric, rising wing-like from behind the shoulders, and often bearing the person's arms. See Fairholt, I. 112, 149, with cuts. They were worn from the time of Edward the First to that of Edward the Third. They seem to have been partly for ornament, and so were jewelled in some cases. Fairholt, II. 4, 5, referring to the ailettes of Piers Gavaston. In the time of Richard the First an ornament of like nature, in form of a small cross rising from the shoulders, was sometimes worn, probably the sign of a crusader of rank. See Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, I. plate 17.

² From *examitus* [εξ μήτος] six-threaded; a heavy silk material. 'To say of any silken tissue that it was "examitum" or "samit," meant that it was six-threaded, and therefore costly and splendid. . . . [It] had in the warp six threads, while the weft was of flat gold threads.' Quotation in *Century Dictionary*, under 'Samite.'

'And in an overgilt samyt
Clad she was, by gret delyt.'

— *Rom. of the Rose*, 873-4 (Skeat).

³ A silken material used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for rich dresses, flags, pennons, etc. *Century Dictionary*. 'Sendale you expounde by a thynne stoffe lyke cypres [Ipres cloth]; but yt was a thynne stoffe lyke sarcenett, and of a raw kynde of sylke or sarcenett, but coarser and narrower than the sarcenett now ys, as myselfe can remember.' Fairholt, II. 363, quoting Thynne (1598).

⁴ Coverings for the backs of chairs. See *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, 178; also Halliwell, who says hangings of various kinds, tapestry. See also Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, Introd. II. xxxiii: 'The walls of the mansion house of the wealthy citizen were hung with pieces of tapestry known as costers or dorsers, elaborately worked . . . or else stained (*i.e.* painted) with pictures,' etc.

⁵ See *Arch. Journal*, II. 178.

⁶ A secular work of 'great repute at the time; the book which the fabulous King Boctus caused to be written on all sciences by the equally fabulous Sydrac.' *Arch. Journal*, II. 345.

⁷ Also a term for covering of the head of women. See Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, I. Introduction.

⁸ See Fairholt, 'Tartarium'; Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, I. 681; Glossary to *Liber*

arms of Hereford, one bay sumpter horse. Besides, there were found in a coffer of the Chapel of Denney the things following.¹ That is to say, two missals,² one legende,³ two antiphoners,⁴ one breviary,⁵ one psalter glossed in two volumes, three grails,⁶ one manual,⁷ one 'epistolarie,'⁸ two topers,⁹ one psalter with one hymner, the canon of the mass for oneself, five chasubles,¹⁰ five albs, three amices, four stoles, four fanons,¹¹ four girdles, two corporals together with the case,¹² six tunics, four leather copes, six large towels, three small towels, two cloths for the lectron, one cloth of gold, one cushion, two surplices, one rochette,¹³ two gilt chalices,¹⁴ two crosses, one table of relics,¹⁵

Custumarum, p. 830, where it is said that cloth of Tars is probably the China silk crape of the present day. See the same place in regard to the name Tars.

'His cote-armure was of cloth of Tars.'

— *Canterbury Tales* (Knight's Tale), 2160.

¹ What follows *supra* is a collection of books of the church. 'The collection of books for the service of the Chapel of Denny is very complete.' *Arch. Journal*, II. 345.

² 'The missal has all the masses said from one end of the year to the other.' Meagher's *Teaching Truth*, 104.

³ A church book of divine service, according to Lacombe's *Glossary*. But here, perhaps, a book of Legends of the Saints. See Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, I. 607; II. 511; also Introd. II. *Legends of the Holy Rood*, ed. Morris, is one of the publications of the Early Eng. Text Society.

⁴ Ordinarily, books of anthems.

⁵ A book containing a summary of the prayers of the Catholic Church. Meagher's *Teaching Truth*, 275.

⁶ Books of hymns and prayers; Worcester. See Brewer's *Historic Note Book*, 526, 'Liturgy.' Also called *Graduals*. See *Glossary to Chronicle of Abingdon*.

⁷ See Brewer's *Historic Note Book*, 526, 'Liturgy.'

⁸ The Epistles general.

⁹ A book of offices in use in the Western Church, containing the tropes and sequences. *Century Dictionary*. A hymner. *Promptorium Parv.* 503.

¹⁰ These and the following articles, like the books just mentioned, though things of the church, were the property of the late earl (used, no doubt, in his own chapel in the castle of Plessy), and hence were now being taken possession of for the king.

After a cut of an archbishop in ecclesiastical garb, Shaw says: 'Above his ankles we see the lower part of the long garment which was called the albe. Over this is the tunic. . . . Then the dalmatic. . . . Above all is the chasuble, thrown over the body and raised on the arms like a mantle, with a standing collar. Hanging on the left arm is the maniple. . . . The stole, which hung from the shoulders, and descended nearly to the feet over the albe, is not seen in the effigy.' *Dresses and Decorations*, plate 16 and description, figure of end of twelfth century. Cuts of the amice are also given by Shaw; also by Meagher in *Teaching Truth*, 129, where all the ecclesiastical vestments here mentioned, except the rochette, are explained. See also Shaw's *Decorative Arts*, under 'Triptych.'

¹¹ Another name for maniples. See Fairholt and note 9, *supra*.

¹² Corporal was and is the name given to the cloth which covered the communion vessels; the cloth being kept in a case. Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, I. 644; II. xii.

¹³ A loose upper garment: a clerical gown (as here). Fairholt, II. 350.

¹⁴ Vessels in which the consecrated wine was held.

¹⁵ A reliquary, for holding relics of the saints. The vessel was of various forms, sometimes richly executed and jewelled. See Shaw's *Decorative Arts*, plate 10, a silver jewelled reliquary, of the year 1470, in the form of a naked foot and ankle.

two gilt cruets, one silver censer, one small vessel of relics, one box containing deeds, one latten¹ vessel enamelled, one silver gilt box, one account book ['paper'].² In testimony of the delivery of which things to the aforesaid Sir Nicholas de la Beche by the aforesaid Abbot of Walden the year and day aforesaid, in presence of Sir Nicholas de Engaigne, sheriff of Essex and of Hertford, the aforesaid abbot and Sir Nicholas de la Beche have put their seals to each part of the indenture ['a lune et lautre endenture'].

[Indorsed.] Indenture by which the Abbot of Walden delivered divers things to Sir ['Monsire'] John [sic] de la Beche in the time of King Edward son of King Edward.

MELVILLE M. BIGELOW.

¹ A kind of bronze used in the middle ages for crosses, candlesticks, effigies, basins, etc. Worcester.

² *Cant. Tales* (Cook's Tale), 4404. See Skeat's *Glossary*.

(*To be continued.*)